

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY AF:WBEDMONDSON:EW

APPROVED BY AF:WESCHAUFEELE

S/S - APSHANKLE

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 299909 TOSEC 320146

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH, ZA

SUBJECT: TEXT OF YOUR SEPTEMBER 1 LETTER TO PRESIDENT
KAUNDA

1. FOLLOWING FOR YOUR POSSIBLE REFERENCE IS THE TEXT OF
LETTER YOU SENT TO KAUNDA VIA STATE 216314 (DTG 010010Z
SEP 76) WHICH IS PRESUMABLY SAME AS THAT REFERRED TO AS
"DR. KISSINGER'S LETTER OF AUGUST 31" IN LONDON DAILY
MAIL ARTICLE OF DECEMBER 9.

2. BEGIN TEXT. "DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: UNDER SECRETARY OF
STATE ROGERS HAS BROUGHT ME UP TO DATE ON HIS AND AMBASSA-
DOR SCHAUFEELE'S CONVERSATIONS WITH YOU. I AM GRATEFUL TO
YOU FOR YOUR ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT STATE OF THE NAMIBIAN
AND RHODESIAN PROBLEMS. I AM ESPECIALLY APPRECIATIVE OF
THE RAPID STEPS YOU TOOK TO PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIPOF SWAPO
AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER OUR PROPOSALS DIRECTLY.

3. "IT APPEARS TO ME FROM WHAT YOU AND SWAPO'S LEADERS
HAVE SAID THAT PROSPECTS FOR MAKING RAPID PROGRESS IN
SETTLING THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION ARE GOOD EVEN THOUGH DIFFI-

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CULTIES STILL LIE AHEAD OF US.

4. "WITH RESPECT TO ZIMBABWE, I APPRECIATE YOUR FRANKNESS IN CLARIFYING FOR ME YOUR POSITION AND IN ASSESSING THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH WE WILL ENCOUNTER IN RESOLVING THAT TROUBLESOME ISSUE. I CAN APPRECIATE THE FRUSTRATION AND DISAPPOINTMENT YOU HAVE EXPERIENCED OVER THE PAST YEARS IN TRYING TO BRING MAJORITY RULE TO ZIMBABWE.

5. "I AM ASKING OUR AMBASSADOR TO PROVIDE YOU WITH A COPY OF THE SPEECH I GAVE TODAY IN PHILADELPHIA. THAT SPEECH REFLECTS THE ADVICE WHICH YOU HAVE GIVEN ME AND I EXPECT THAT IT WILL PROVIDE YOU AN ENCOURAGING STATEMENT OF AMERICAN POLICY. THE SPEECH REAFFIRMS THE UNITED STATES' INTENTION TO WORK FOR DURABLE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA.

6. "AS YOU ARE AWARE, I WILL BE MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IN ZURICH THIS WEEKEND. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT I AM ABLE TO MAKE PROGRESS WITH VORSTER. I AM READY TO COME TO AFRICA IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THOSE TALKS, IF MY VISIT IS CONVENIENT TO YOU I PLAN TO ARRIVE IN LUSAKA DURING THE MORNING OF FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10 AND WOULD LEAVE THE FOLLOWING DAY. I COULD, THEREFORE, BE AVAILABLE TO MEET WITH YOU IN THE LATE MORNING, AFTERNOON OR EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 10.

7. "I SHOULD UNDERLINE, HOWEVER, THAT MY PLANS ARE STILL TENTATIVE. THEY ARE CONTINGENT IN PART ON THE PROGRESS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER AND I MAKE IN ZURICH. IN LIGHT OF THE MANY DIFFICULTIES WE FACE, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT MY PLANS WILL HAVE TO CHANGE AND THAT YOU AND I WOULD AGREE IN THE FIRST INSTANCE IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO SEND UNDER SECRETARY ROGERS AND AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE FOR FURTHER PREPARATORY TALKS AND CONSULTATIONS I HOPE THIS WILL NOT BE THE CASE BUT WILL STAY IN THE CLOSEST COMMUNICATION WITH YOU.

8. "ON THE BASIS OF UNDER SECRETARY ROGERS AND AMBASSADOR SCHAUFLE'S RECENT CONSULTATIONS WITH YOU, PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND MACHEL, IT IS CLEAR THAT FINDING A SOLUTION
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TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM IS EASIER THAN MAKING PROGRESS TOWARDS MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE. IF MY TALKS GO WELL WITH VORSTER I WILL MAKE A FINAL DECISION ON TRAVELING TO AFRICA BASED ON A CLEAR PROSPECT THAT THE NAMIBIAN CRISIS CAN BE RESOLVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK WHICH ROGERS AND SCHAUFLE EXPLAINED TO YOU.

9. "I THEREFORE NEED MOST URGENTLY YOUR ANALYSIS AS TO

WHETHER AN AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED WITH SWAPO WHICH WILL ENJOY YOUR SUPPORT. AS I SEE THE PROBLEM ON THE EVE OF MY TALKS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER, THAT AGREEMENT WOULD BE BASED ON (A) MOVING THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTLY MEETING IN WINDHOEK TO GENEVA; (B) INCLUDING SWAPO IN THE GENEVA MEETING; (C) CONFIRMATION OF A FIXED DATE FOR NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE. I WILL ALSO MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO SEE THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS SWAPO WISHES RELEASED ARE SET FREE BY THE TIME OF THE GENEVA TALKS. WITH RESPECT TO ZIMBABWE, THE REASONS YOU HAVE GIVEN ME FOR NOT ANTICIPATING RAPID PROGRESS ARE COGENT. I KNOW THAT YOU AGREE WE OWE OUR RESPECTIVE NATIONS AND THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE A SINCERE EFFORT TO SECURE AGREEMENT BEFORE THE SITUATION IN THAT COUNTRY DETERIORATES FURTHER. WHILE I DO NOT INSIST ON COMING TO A FINAL AGREEMENT DURING THIS VISIT, I AM MOST ANXIOUS TO KNOW WHETHER YOU THINK PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. THE BASIS FOR PROGRESS WOULD INVOLVE, AS ROGERS AND SCHAUFLE TOLD YOU, (A) THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN FAVOR OF A BLACK MAJORITY TRANSITION, (B) THE DRAFTING OF A CONSTITUTION WHICH INCLUDES A BASIC PROTECTION FOR MINORITY RIGHTS, (C) FULL INDEPENDENCE UNDER MAJORITY RULE IN 18 MONTHS, 2 YEARS OR EARLIER.

10. "COMING TO AN UNDERSTANDING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER ON THE NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN PROBLEMS WILL NOT BE EASY BUT TO RECAPITULATE, BEFORE I COME TO AFRICA I NEED TO BE REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT THE PROPOSALS I HAVE OUTLINED MEET THE NEEDS OF AFRICA AND WILL HAVE YOUR SUPPORT. I ALSO NEED YOUR ASSURANCE THAT NEW AND UNANTICIPATED CONDITIONS WILL NOT BE ADVANCED WHEN I ARRIVE.

11. "I ATTACH THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO THE ABILITY OF
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ZIMBABWE NATIONAL LEADERS TO UNIFY THEMSELVES IN PREPARATION FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. I KNOW HOW HARD YOU HAVE WORKED TOWARDS THIS GOAL IN THE PAST AND HOPE THAT EFFORTS PRESENTLY UNDER WAY IN THIS RESPECT WILL BE SUCCESSFUL. I LOOK FORWARD VERY MUCH TO HEARING FROM YOU ON THE OUTCOME OF THIS UNDERTAKING AS WELL AS RECEIVING YOUR ASSESSMENT OF OVERALL PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS IN NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE BEFORE, OR EVEN DURING, MY TALKS IN ZURICH.

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12. "SO MUCH IS AT STAKE THAT I DON'T WISH TO CONCLUDE THIS LETTER WITHOUT SHARING WITH YOU MY JUDGMENT THAT WE HAVE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO OVERCOME THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST AND MAKE PROGRESS ON TWO ISSUES VITAL TO THE FUTURE OF THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA AND WORLD PEACE. I HOPE THAT A MEETING WITH YOU WILL PROVE POSSIBLE AND THAT WE

WILL HAVE A CHANCE TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL THIS UNDERTAKING
TO WHICH YOU AND I ATTACH SO MUCH IMPORTANCE. SINCERELY
YOURS, HENRY A. KISSINGER." END TEXT. ROBINSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, INDEPENDENCE, GOVERNMENT REFORM, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MINISTERIAL VISITS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE299909
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: WBEDMONDSON:EW
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840099-0430
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761253/aaaabtzx.tel
Line Count: 172
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 MAR 2004 by morefirh>; APPROVED <13 SEP 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TEXT OF YOUR SEPTEMBER 1 LETTER TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA
TAGS: PSDC, PFOR, PDEV, US, ZA, WA, RH, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (KAUNDA, KENNETH DAVID)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006